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## THE SLAVE TRADE.

The proceedings and debates during the last session of the late Congress, indicate a most marked deterioration of moral sentiment at the South in respect to the African slave trade, and are fearfully ominous of the near approach of the time, when, at any rate in the Gulf States, that hitherto universally reprobated traffic will be as heartily sustained as is the institution of

Only so lately as in 1856, when Mr Etheridge of Tennessee presented resolutions in the House on that subject, nobody in that body was found bold enough to express any sympathy for the slave trade, and his resolutions, as modified in their phraseology by Mr. Orr of South Carolina, were agreed to with only eight dissenting votes. And even as to these votes, whatever may have been the real motives which controlled them. they were given professedly, not from any objection to the opinions set out in the resolutions, but from an opposition to the adoption of any resolutions whatever, and upon the ground that the revival of the African slave trade was not a practical question before the country.

Nevertheless, in the face of all this apparent manimity, Mr. Etheridge in 1856 predicted that the Democratic party at the South would ultimately adopt the African slave trade as a part of its creed and policy, and the prediction, extraordinary as it appeared when made, is even now being verified. Mr. Etheridge understood thoroughly the composition of the political com-bination, whose future course he predicted. His error, if he committed any, was in not anticipa-ting the rapidity with which a foregone conclu-

sion would be reached.

The Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill which was passed last winter, contained among other things, a clause appropriating -five thousand dollars to enable the Pres dent of the United States to carry into effect the act of March 3, 1819, the proposed appropriation being based upon an executive statement of the expenses incurred, and to be incurred, in the return to Africa of the negroes rescued from the Echo. These expenses consisted of the bounties due by law to the officers capturing the Echo, of the cos of trials and of supporting the negroes prior to their delivery in Africa, and of a sum, equal to one hundred and fifty dollars per head, agreed to be paid to the Colonization Society, for main-taining the negroes for one year after their delivery in Africa, and for instructing them, during that period, in the arts of civilized life. The proportion of these sums was as follows: Expenses of trial and of supporting ne-

groes before delivering them in Africa - - - - Colonization Society - -

The law under which these expenses were in-March 3, 1819, which section is in the words following

of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to make such regulations and arrange-The history of the proceedings of the Govern-

roe, soon after the law was passed, called the attention of Congress to a possible doubt which He, however, informed Congress that he should proceed upon the construction that such expenditure was authorized, unless that made in the House by Mr. Crawford.

Mr. Clay's motion was negatived, yeas 12 legislation, and give him directions to proceed | 40, the following Senators voting for it: without interruption from that day to this. Very considerable expenses seem to have been incurred uary, that, up to the year 1830, the cost of returning two hundred and sixty recaptured negroes had amounted to the sum of \$264,700, beng more than one thousand dollars per head. This is more than three times the rate of cost

upon the Echo negroes.

Although it is hardly worth while, after a construction of law has been settled by a practice of forty years, to discuss the merits of it, it would certainly seem, that the expression of doubts by President Monroe, should be ascribed rather to his extreme caution and scrupulosity, than to any It provides, in express terms, for "receiving the negroes" upon the coast of Africa, and for an acy for that purpose. It must have been emplated that such an agency would involve all the expenses necessary to the "receiving" of destitute and distressed persons, who must be maintained until they can be put in the way of obtaining their own livelihood. Human beings, even if they are black, cannot be discharged upon a barren strand like bales of goods. The law did not contemplate that they should be thus left to shift for themselves. They were to he "received," and by a suitable agency to be des ignated for that purpose, and to be "received" of necessity, not as merchandise, but as men, women, and children, with all the wants and claims of humanity.

The appropriation proposed last winter in re-

spect to the negroes rescued from the Echo, was thus required by a proper and long-settled con-struction of the act of March 3, 1819, and would never have been assailed, but for the newly-awakened desire to revive the African siave trade. In the House, on the 27th of January, two motions in respect to this appropriation were voted upon; one made by Mr. Dowdell of Alabama to strike out the appropriation altogether, and the other made by Mr. Crawford of Georgia to reduce the appropriation from seventy-five to forly-five thousand dollars, so as to cut off the sum proposed to be paid to the Colonization Society for maintaining and educating the negroes for one year after their delivery in Africa.

In substance there was no difference, in intent,

or in effect, between thee two motions. The adoption of either, nullified and practically abated the act of March 3, 1819. The motion of Mr. Dowdell left no provision for the expenses of returning rescued negroes to Africa, or of sup-porting them prior to their return. The motion Crawford would leave them to be thrown naked upon the coast of Africa, there to perish by hunger or violence; a course of procedure so repugnant to humanity, as to be certain to ren-der the act of March 3, 1810, odious, and there-

by to bring about its repeal.

Nevertheless, although the effect of the two motions was in reality the same, that of Mr. Dowdell was most offensive in point of form. The motion of Mr. Crawford had this pretence of placed upon a doubt whether the act of March 3, 1819, authorized any expenditure upon rescued negroes, after they were landed in Africa. The motion of Mr. Dowdell had no pretence of justification whatever. Neither he, nor anybody else, presumed to deny that the act of March 3 certain bounties to the recaptors of unlawfully enslaved negroes, and that it also provided for their support until they were re-turned to Africa. So far, the law was explicit beyond all peradventure, and to strike out the whole appropriation, was to abrogate and nal-lify the law altogether. But it may be repeated again, that if thus more offensive in point of form, as it undoubtedly was, the policy indicated by Mr. Dowdell's motion was not, in intrinsic demerit, one whit worse than the proposition of Mr. Crawford. And, indeed, it may fairly be questioned, if it would not be more humane to epeal the whole act of March 3, 1819, than to throw cargoes of negroes upon the coast of Africa, among strange tribes, without shelter, food, or means of any kind.

or means of any kind.

The motion of Mr. Dowdell was negatived, year 28, nays 163. Those who voted in the afmative, were as follows: CAROLINA - Messrs. Bonham, Boyce, McQueen, and Miles.

TENNESSEE - Messrs. Avery, Maynard, and

TEXAS-Mr. Bryan. VIRGINIA-Messrs. Caskie and Goode. Virginia—Messrs. Cashie and Goode.

Florida—Mr. Hawkins.

Alabama — Messrs. Cobb, Curry, Dowdell,
Houston, Moore, Shorter, and Stallworth.
Georgia—Messrs. Crawford, Gartrell, Seward,
Stephens, and Trippe.
Louisiana—Messrs. Davidson and Sandidge.

Mississippi-Messrs. McRae and Singleton. NORTH CAROLINA—Mr. Ruffin.
The motion of Mr. Crawford was negatived,

TENNESSEE - Messrs. Avery, Maynard, Watkins,

Wright, and Zollicoffer. ssippi-Messrs. Barksdale, McEac VIRGINIA-Messrs. Bocock, Caskie, Edmund son, Garnett, Goode, Hopkins, Jenkins, Letcher,

and Smith. South Carolina - Messrs. Bonham, Boyce McQueen, and Miles.
North Carolina — Messrs. Branch, Ruffig haw, and Vance.

TEXAS-Mr. Bryan. KENTUCKY - Messrs. Burnett, Clay, Peyton Stevenson, and Talbott. ALABAMA - Messrs. Cobb, Curry, Dowdell Moore, and Stallworth. Georgia-Messrs. Crawford, Gartrell, Juckson Seward, Stephens, and Trippe.
LOUISIANA — Messrs. Davidson, Eustis, and

Sandidge. FLORIDA-Mr. Hawkins. Illinois-Mr. Hodges.
North Carolina-Messrs. Ruffin, Shaw,

of the one hundred and forty-five votes agains fr. Crawford's motion, only nineteen were from the slave States, as follows: Missouri-Messrs. Anderson, Caruthers, Craig

MARYLAND-Messrs, Bowie, Davis, Ricaud, and Stewart. NORTH CAROLINA-Messrs. Gilmer and Wins

ARKANSAS-Mr. Greenwood. TENNESSEE-Messrs. Jones and Smith. KENTUCKY-Messrs. Marshall, Mason, and Ur VIRGINIA-Mr. Millson. DELAWARE-Mr. Whitely.

Georgia-Mr. Wright.
Thus, of the sixty-eight slave-State member present and voting, forty-nine voted for Mr. Crawford's motion. Of the absentees, Mr. Woodson of Missouri, who came in after the vota was clared, said he should have voted for the no

tion, if he had arrived in season.

Another motion in respect to this appropria tion, had been voted upon in Committee of the Whole on the 26th of January. This was made by Mr. Bonham of South Carolina, and being re jected in Committee of the Whole, there ecord to show who supported it.

Mr. Benham's motion was to qualify the ropriation by the following proviso:
"Provided, That no part of this sum shall be used for schooling the children, or for instructing the children and adults in the arts of civ ilized life."

Mr. Bonham said, among other things: "It is now, for the first time, that we have as instance in an appropriation bill for teaching Africans the arts of civilized life. This is the

point." Mr. Bonham could tolerate nothing, which treated Africans as if they were capable of bing ivilized, or which implied the idea, that it was desirable to civilize them. He saw too clearly that an idea like that, carried out in the practic of the Federal Government, was a cutting reluke to the institutions of his own State, and o' all - 32,100 the Southern States, in which the education of the negro is prohibited as criminal. Accordir-; to curred, was the second section of the act of the logic and morals of South Carolina, ner oes are born to be slaves, not to be civilized.

The opposition in the House to the appropria And be it further enacted, That the President tion for the expenses of the Echo negroes, was carried to an unusual extreme. The principal portion of the men concerned in it, having falle ments as he may deem expedient for the safe to strike the appropriation out of the Consular \* keeping, support, and removal beyond the lim-its of the United States, of all such negroes, its of the United States, of all such negroes, and mulattoes, or persons of color, as may be so de-defeating it three times. They did this, although they were the political friends of the Administration and under party obligations to sustain and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or \* persons of color, delivered from on board ves\* sels, seized in the prosecution of the slave trade,
\* by commanders of the United States armed tion, marks the rancor and desperation of he partisans of the African slave trade. In the Senate, this appropriation for the E. ho

ment under this section, is, that President Mon- negroes gave rise to the same discussions which tention of Congress to a possible doubt which existed, whether it authorized any expenditure in respect to rescued negroes, after their delivand insert \$45,000, being a motion similar it Mr. Clay's motion was negatived, yeas 12, nays

differently. Congress has never acted further upon the subject, and the construction given to Hammond, Iverson, Johnson of Tennessee, Ma Messrs. Chesnut, Clay, Davis, Fitzpatrick the law by President Monroe, has been acted upon | son, Reid, Thompson of Kentucky, Toombs, and

Of the forty negative votes, twelve were from in this way. Mr. Dowdell of Alabama stated in the slave States, (if we reckon Delaware as as speech made in the House on the 25th of Jan-pary that, up to the year 1830, the cost of re-Messrs. Bates, Bell, Benjamin, Crittenden Green, Howton, Hunter, Mallory, Pearce, Polk,

> Let us now examine what was said in the debates in Congress upon this Echo appropriation. In the House, on the 25th of January, Mr Dowdell of Alabama said : "I will take this occasion to say, without dis

cussing the expediency of reopening the slave trade, a matter which properly belongs to the sov-ereign States whose industrial policy is to be affected by it, that the laws are highly offensive in defining that to be piracy upon the high seas which is not robbery, and in attaching the death penalty to an act which in itself is not necessar rily immoral."

Mr. Clay of Kentucky said: "I am opposed to all these laws on our stat-ute book in relation to the slave trade, and I will not vote a dollar for the purpose." In the House, on the next day, (January 26th,)

"In 1819, the whole South was unanimously against the slave trade. Now, it is becoming divi led, and unless the war upon slavery is stopped, tifteen years will witness the trade open for South, and our then Mexican possessions reachther south."

Mr. Seward of Georgia said : "I look upon the law for the suppression of the South Carolina; slave trade as mischievous and wrong. While do not pretend to commit myself in reference to the policy of the slave trade as affecting th States whose interests would be touched by it, I am opposed to the whole law, because think it wrong and a violation of the Constitu

Your navy is to be used as a police to inter fere with the business of citizens, and to arrest them for a crime which is said to be piracy. I say that that strikes at the institution of slavery the South. I want to have that law repealer want to leave this matter to be settled by the States as a domestic question. I doubt whether so far as my State (Georgia) is concerned, she because I think she has at present a sufficient supply of labor. But there are other States that may differ from us in that respect; for in stance, the State of Texas: and I want all the States to have the right, without the interference of Congress, to carry on the slave trade, i they wish." Mr. Clay of Kentucky, by way of explaining

and modifying what he had said on the previous day, declared that he was opposed to the reopen ing of the slave trade, although he disliked the existing laws against it, and especially disliked the 8th article of the Ashburton treaty. He said "I am especially opposed to another law, b rather treaty stipulation, on our statute book ington. I regard it as an entangling alliance with Great Britain. I regard it as an alliance so entangling, that last year it produced all those outrages on our mag which occurred in the Gulf, and it is producing every day out-

rages upon our flag on the coast of Africa. It is an entangling alliance which requires us to keep a force of eighty guns constantly on the coast of Africa." Mr. Miles of South Carolina said : "I am not prepared to advocate the reopeni of the slave trade, but I am prepared to advocate, with all my mind and strength, the sweeping away from our statute book, of laws which stamp the people of my section as pirates, and put a stigma upon their institutions. I will never consent, if I can possibly help it, to allow this stigma to remain, which degrades and puts a iur upon the people of my part of the Confederacy. i believe, Mr. Chairman, that these are questions that ought to be left, as gentlemen have said, to time; and to be controlled, moreover, by the sovereign States themselvee. I have very grave and serious doubts about the con-

stitutionality of the laws for the suppression of the slave trade." In the House, on the 27th of January, Mr Crawford of Georgia said : "This question of opening the slave trade

one of the highest importance, and one which threatens to make and unmake parties in the

yeas 50, nays 145. Those who voted in the af- bumanity could have been consulted instead of consulting the actual provisions of the law, these negroes, I presume none will doubt, would have been far better provided for by retaining them in the country into which they had been illegally brought, and making such provision for them in a state of bondage as the laws of the States where they were landed would admit of, or might require."

> Mr. Brown said : "The only inhumanity inflicted upon them at all, was by the action of your Government. They would have been delighted to remain in our country. Slavery here is better than that sort of freedom which they enjoyed at home. They were not allowed to do it. They were seized, put on shipboard, and sent out of the country. Now, we are asked to foot the bill, to do it without even the shadow of authority under the Constitution. I would repeal the law, repeal it in-stantly, as not based upon the Constitution which we are sworn to support."
> Some other proceedings in Congress last winter, in connection with the slave trade, are de-

serving of notice.
On the 23d of December, Mr. Blair of Missouri asked leave to submit the following resolution: "Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be, and hereby is, instructed to report a bill more effectually to prevent the slave trade, under the guise of the 'coolie trade' so called or of 'apprentices,' or of 'African labor import

ation companies,' or under any other name, or in any other guise, the real purpose or effect of which may be, directly or indirectly, immediate-ly or ultimately, to make slaves of the persons so procured and transported." Unanimous consent being required, objection was made by Mr. Houston of Alabama.

On the same day, Mr. Kilgore of Indiana asked leave to submit the following resolution:
"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to report to this House, what information has been received by him in regard to the recent importation of slaves from Africa into Georgia, and what steps, if any, have been taken to punish this violation of the

was made by Mr. Garnett of Virginia. On the 26th of January, the Committee of the Seward of Georgia moved the following as an

" Provided, further, That all the laws heretofore passed, prohibiting the slave trade, be and the same are hereby repealed. And that the policy of restricting the foreign slave trade be with each of the States, as affecting their own local policy." This amendment was not voted upon, being

uled to be out of order. On the 23d of December, Mr. Sandidge of Louisiana introduced a resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for the abrogation of that article of the Ashburton treaty which requires the keeping of a squadron on the coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave On the 31st of January, Mr. Kilgore of Indiana

asked leave to submit the following resolutions:
"Whereas the laws prohibiting the African
'slave trade have become a topic of discussion with newspaper writers and political agita-tors, many of them boldly denouncing these laws as unwise in policy and disgraceful in their provisions, and insisting on the justice and propriety of their repeal, and the revival of the odious traffic in African slaves; and whereas recent demonstrations afford strong reasons to apprehend that said laws are to be set at defiince, and their violation openly countenanced and encouraged by a portion of the citizens of some of the States of this Union; and whereas it is proper, in view of said facts, that the sentiment of the people's representatives in Con-gress should be made public in relation thereto: Therefore, "1. Resolved, That while we recognise no

right, on the part of the Federal Government or any other law-making power save that of the States wherein it exists, to interfere with or disturb the institution of domestic slavery where it is established or protected by State legislation, we do hold that Congress has power to prohibit the foreign trailic, and that no legislation can be too thorough in its measures, nor ern punishment for crime be too severe, against a traffic so inhuman and unchristian.

said traffic are founded upon the broadest principles of philanthropy, religion, and humanity; that they should remain unchanged except so far as legislation may be needed to render them more efficient; and that they should be faithfully and promptly executed by our Govern-ment, and respected by all good citizens. "3. Resolved, That the Executive should be sustained and commended for any proper effort, whenever and wherever made, to enforce said

"2. Resolved, That the laws in force against

laws, and to bring to speedy punishment the wicked violators thereof, and all their aiders and abettors." Mr. Burnett of Kentucky objected to the intro duction of these resolutions, but it being in order on that day to move a suspension of the rules,

Mr. Kilgore moved that they be suspended, so that his resolutions might be considered. The suspension of the rules was not carried, yeas 115 navs 84-not two-thirds. ys 84—not two-thirds.

Of the affirmative votes, only five were from

the slave States, as follows: MARYLAND-Messrs. Bowie, Davis, and Ricaud NORTH CAROLINA-Mr. Gilmer. KENTUCKY-Mr. Marshall.

And of these five, only one, Mr. Bowie, belong to the Democratic party.

The negative vote came, as to the bulk of it from the slave States. The balance was con tributed by their Northern allies, as follows: W. Hall, Hodges, Miller, Niblack, Searing, Aaron Shaw, Robert Smith, George Taylor, Vallandig-

ing to Guatemala certainly, and probably fur- In the Senate, on the 16th of February, the following discussion took place between Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts, and Mr. Hammond of

> "Mr. Wilson. We have branded the slav trade; we have passed laws against it; and, although we were the first nation to brand the slave trade, I suppose that, owing to a variety of causes not necessary to discuss at this time we have done as much as any other people to keep that trade alive. Our ships have hovered on the coast of Africa and have engaged in the raffic. One of those ships has been captured by a vessel of our navy and brought into this country. These Africans, in the spirit of the law-I say nothing about the letter of the law-United States has made a bargain with the only men, it seems to me, with whom he could have President of the United States, in so acting,

> try; and, for one, I give my vote most freely to try; and, for one, I give my vote most freely to carry out the bargain the President of the United States has made.
>
> "Whether it be strictly legal or not, I care not. I always notice that when an act of humanity, an act of liberality, an act of justice, s to be performed, it is very difficult to find this country, to reopen the slave trade; that hundreds of thousands of dollars have been subscribed to carry it out and engage in the trade-to defend the trade; and that, in portions of this country, grand juries cannot be rethed upon to indict persons if caught in that trade. Well, sir, we have made a capture; we have returned those persons. I want it to go out to the country and to the world, for the

gentlemen in that part of the country, will come
to this conclusion: that there is a party, mainly
in the Gulf States, extending through a portion
of the Southern States, in favor of reopening
the slave trade; and these doctrines have been
avowed during the present session of Congress,
by gentlemen representing that section of the
Union, in the other branch of Congress.

"Mr. Hamnond. I am not at all, nor is any portion of the South, liable for the impressions which any person travelling through the South may form. There is no sort of doubt that a few may form. There is no sort of doubt that a few persons in the South, some of them highly respectable, wish to open the African slave trade; but from what knowledge I have myself, and from what knowledge I have received, and I have been active in inquiry, my opinion is, that nine-tenths of the people of the South are uttrly opposed to it; and I think the more the subject is discussed, the fewer will be the number who are in favor of reopening the slave trade. I will inform the Senator from Massa-tchusetts of one fact of which I supposed he chusetts of one fact of which I supposed he was cognizant: that during the past week the grand jury in Savannah has found true bills in two different cases against persons whom it was alleged had participated in the African

Mr. Hammond is a great slaveholder, and, like most of his class, is opposed to the opening of a trade which would reduce the value of his property. But it is most evident that the strength of his own opinion against that trade, misled him in respect to the actual sentiment and to the tendency of sentiment at the South. He could not possibly express himself to-day, with the confidence which he displayed on the 16th of February. At that time, he repudiated, and with aplaws of the United States."

Unanimous consent being required, objection parent resentment, the suggestion that Southern grand juries would refuse to find indictments for violations of the laws against the slave trade. Since that time, a trial jury in his own State has Whole House having under consideration the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill, Mr. acquitted the officers and crew of the Echo, who consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill, Mr. were taken flagrante delicto; and at this day, it is admitted that nowhere at the South is it possible to obtain convictions for similar offences

Mr. Hammond was mistaken, as to the condition of Southern sentiment at the time when he | He might not alter the letter of the instructions spoke, but still more mistaken as to the course under which our cruisers act, but the spirit in tendency of Southern sentiment. Mr. Crawford, who declared that the slave-trade question lychanged. Like master, like man. Official suborwas "growing stronger and stronger," and would dinates are quick to understand, without express soon make and unmake parties and platforms at words, what is desired of them. It is one thing the South, understood that matter, it is evident, a good deal better than Mr. Hammond did. Mr.

tion of public sentiment at the South is not what Mr. Hammond, in February, supposed it to be, it moral convictions upon this subject. That is the certainly was so at a period not remote. The Southern feeling in favor of the slave trade, to whatever extent it now actually exists, is certainly a dissipates the foul vapors of the atmosphere new thing under the sun, although it may have And without this remedy, there appears no raresulted from a train of causes which have been in operation a good while. If it has been long the slave trade, as will rivet slavery upon the at work out of sight, the disorder has, at any rate, broken out suddenly; so suddenly, indeed that the existence of it is hardly yet realized. Nor is it necessary to be true, in order that we

should suffer all that we possibly can suffer from the evil, that the slave-trade sentiment should get possession of the whole South, or even of a major part of the South. If that sentiment becomes predominant in any one State so situated as to carry on the trade, the mischief is done. But the actual case is, that the whole tier of States upon the Gulf of Mexico is infected; and this being so, the African slave trade may wax and flourish, be the predicament of public opinion, in Virginia, Maryland, or even South Caro-Kansas. It is near the residence of Atchison, Gulf which wants more slaves than it raises, and the evil becomes formidable indeed, when the people of that region, with its vast stretch of sea coast, determine to receive cheap slaves from and the fact that Mr. Blair has been invited to slave States.

all, only a logical and necessary result of the ideas which have been propagated in that quarter during the last twenty-five years. When the old ground results in the control of the triumph of Freedom in the State. the old ground, unanimously maintained by the revolutionary fathers, that Slavery was a great SPECH OF F. P. BLAIR, JUN. OF MISSOURI evil, to be endured only until it could be got rid First Free-Soil Speech ever Delivered in St. Jo of by safe and practicable methods, was abandoned for the new doctrines of Mr. Calhoun, that the institution was a positive good, establishing the best relations between capital and labor, and beneficial alike to both parties to it, a movement in favor of the African slave trade could not be long postponed. In no respect more objection-able, and in many respects vastly less so, than the slave trade between Virginia and the Gulf States, it has the powerful recommendation of the greater cheapness in the cost of the commodity dealt in, and this relative cheapness has been continually on the increase, the price of slaves in Virginia having more than duplicated within

a quarter of a century.

Of late years, also, schemes of aggrandizement, looking to the double objects of control in the Union so long as the Union may endure, and of laying the foundations for a powerful slave-holding empire upon the Gulf of Mexico in the event of the disruption of the Union, have taken possession of the Southern mind; and to these schemes, in anything like the development and proportions designed by those who cherish them, the revival of the African slave trade seems to be essential. Slavery cannot exist without slaves; and if, as Mr. Crawford of Georgia supposes, the slaveholding section is to absorb the whole of Mexico, quite to Guatemala, within fifteen years, or within three times that period, it can only be done by fresh importations of negroes. In no other way is it possible, considering that free white laborers multiply more rapidly than negro slaves, to prevent such a prior occupation by free institutions of so much of the continent as remains to be occupied, as will confine slavery within territorial limits, not susceptible as yet of precise demarkation, but discernible, never-theless, with sufficient definiteness and distinctness, to alarm politicians proverbial for their farsighted anticipation of future events.

information of the day leaves no room to doubt have been returned, and the President of the | that cargoes of slaves are being landed, from time to time, in the Gulf States, and that preparations are being made to enter upon the traffic in good made a bargain, the colony of Liberia, to take care of these recaptured Africans. I think the exist, which render the continuance and expansion of the traffic inevitable. There is a market acted according to the spirit of the law, and according to the public judgment of the counrisk is reduced to the small one of capture upon the high seas by the public vessels of the United States, and it is now certain that such capture involves only the loss of ship and cargo, unattended with danger of personal punishment to the parties concerned. If the cargo is once lauded, the risk is ended, and the venture realiis to be performed, it is very difficult to find authority, either in the Constitution or laws of the country. For myself, I see in the law of 1819 enough to authorize the President to make this bargain, and my own heart impels me to give it a prompt and decisive vote. I simply say that there is a disposition in this country, and it is said there are secret organizations in this country, to recease the prompt the clear that the country to recease the president to find at the risk is ended, and the venture realized. Southern newspapers contain advertisements from responsible planters, offering so nuch per head for imported Africans. The interposition of legal authority has become abortive. Law, according to our frame of Government, is only enforceable through the instrumentality of juries, and Southern juries reflect, not the law, but the humors and prejudices of the venture realized. humors and prejudices of the vicinage. In the case of the Echo, taken with a full cargo of negroes on board, there was not merely not a con-viction, but an absolute acquittal. A failure to convict might have resulted from the perversity of a single juror, but an acquittal required the concurrence of the whole panel. After an ac-quittal in such a case, it is idle to expect convichave retirned those persons. I want it to go out to the country and to the world, for the country and to the world, for the credit of the American name and the American character, that the contract made by the President of the United States is in accordance with the Spanish officials, while the profits of the trade are enormous the sentence of the United States is in accordance with the Spanish officials, while the profit of the slave trade in Cuba, where heavy bribery is necessary with the Spanish officials, while the profit of the trade with the United States.

"Mr. HANKOND. The Senator from Massachness where grand juries cannot be found to indict persons engaged in the African slave trade. I should like to know to what part he alludes.

"Mr. Wilson. Mr. President, I do not know that said there were portions of this country. Has service and the contract of the United States and the profit of the trade will be no want of sellers. Output and the profit of the trade of the United States and the profit of the trade with the United States and the profit of the trade with the Direct of slaves. He could have been here before. To what is the present adverse in Cuba were position and homestead policy which made the West Democratic here bridge that the profit of the trade of the United States and that the sail that the present and the profit of the trade are enormous the profit of the trade of the United States and that the sum that the sail that the profit of the trade are enormous the demands the inclusion of the profit of the trade are enormous the demands the profit of the trade are enormous the demands the profit of the trade are enormous the demands the profit of the trade are enormous the demands the present and the suited states and that we state the profit of the state man therefore a the profit of the p tions in any case. The risk is thus nominal, while the profits of the trade are enormous. The risk is really less than that of the slave trade

from it to the slave-buying States upon the Gulf of Mexico would become a legitimate commerce. Upon the whole, if the African slave trade, now opened, is to be closed again, it must be done by operations on the coast of Africa and upon the high seas, and, to this end, there must it Interpreting the past by the light of present events, it is now evident that the real object of certain preposterous pretensions as to the sacredness of mere flags, without reference to the real nationality of vessels, was to facilitate the carrying on of the slave trade: So, too, with .c reference to which has at length broken out without disguise the same were he here. [Applause.] and without shame. He must be charitable and The South moulds the policy of the Dem confiding indeed, who believes that Administrations at Washington, controlled by the Gulf States. will ever do anything effective towards shutting up the African slave trade. Not such aid, or such defenders, do the times demand. If our laws are to be executed, there must be different executive agents. What is wanted, in short, to put down this infamous traffic, is a Republican President, and that would suffice to accomplish the object. The election of such a President would be felt in every slave barracoon in Africa which they would be executed would be instant.

CARRYING THE WAR INTO AFRICA-SPEECH OF F. P. BLAIR, JUN., AT

continent, beyond the reach of help, or hope,

Every true lover of Freedom will read with zest the following telling speech of Mr. Blair at St. Joseph, in Missouri, said to be the first Free-Soil speech ever made in that city. St. Joe, as it is called, is on the Missouri river about seventy-five miles above Leavenworth, i what it may. It is the region upon the and was three and four years ago one of the headquarters of Border Ruffian violence. It The movement at the South in favor of the a great change has taken place in public sentislave trade, although new and sudden, is, after ment. It must have been peculiarly irritating When triumph of Freedom in the State.

seph, Missouri.

From the Elwood (Kansas) Free Press, July 16. At 8 P. M., the court-house in St. Joseph Mo., was filled with an audience of four or five hundred, those in the foreground being the while scattered around were the laboring men of the city-the honest, hearty, Free-State men of the section.

was received with loud applause. Mr. Blair was thankful for the large ance present, and must admit he felt some em barrassment in addressing them, knowing that so many differed from him, and so widely. I shall express my views frankly and fearlessly, yet striving not to wound the feelings of those

who disagree with me. I have been reared in the strictest sect of Democracy. I have not changed, but still remain a sound Democrat; yet I differ essentially from the theory of politics held by the so-called Democracy of the present time. They have apostatized and abandoned every Democratic were I to adduce all the proof of this, I should

proposition for a protective tariff. Where did learn such Democracy? His administration came into power with a surplus in the Treasury of twenty millions, and at the end of nine months he asked for an issue of twenty millions of shinplasters. Where did he learn such Democracy? This was soon gone, and As a matter of fact, the African slave trade with the United States, is now actually reopened, after being closed for half a century. The current millions was asked for, and granted. All of millions was asked for, and granted. All of this was required by a Democratic Administrabeen one hundred millions a year-more than was expended when we supported an army in Mexico. Economy used to be a cardinal prin-ciple with the Democracy, but now extravagance. You know that the Secretaries of Mr. Buchanan have hardly escaped impeachment. Mr. Floyd sells the military reserves privately for less than one-fourth their value, and buys Willett's Point from his friends at a much higher price than it had already been offered the Government; while Toucey lavishes the funds of the people on political and personal favorites by coal and live oak contracts. The Democratic party originally framed the

land policy of our Government, and for the ben-efit of the people; but the last Democratic Congress would do nothing about it. Your two Senators defeated the Homestead bill. This party has abandoned all Democratic measures, and gone over to the Lecompton Constitution, which the people of Kansas opposed, as since shown, even in the face of a Democratic Administration attempting to bribe them; this has been the sole measure of the present Democracy. You, from your position, know the truth of my statement. In the late election in Kansas, the Democratic party have been forced to

est there should be a chain of free States on this parallel. The Southern route was surveyed without an appropriation, for what care they for the laws of Congress?

Missouri asked for an overland mail, and a done by operations on the coast of Africa and upon the high seas, and, to this end, there must be a complete reversal of the influences which dominate over the Government at Washington. Instead of abrogating the eighth article of the Ashburton treaty, the number of guns upon the coast of Africa should be increased, and effective coast of Africa should be increased, and effective including the coast of Africa and upon the high seas, and, to this end, there must be a complete reversal of the influences which master General to let the contract, the contract, the contract, the contract, the contract, the supon and reared in a slave State, and do not wish to say anything to hurt your feelings. I have spoken for some time, longer than I supposed; the heat of the room is great, and I contract the contract, the contract the contract, the contract coast of Africa should be increased, and elective light-draught and swift steamers substituted for the Southern route, he should have the contract. The bid was made and the contract let, the distance thereby being increased 900 miles beslow-going sail vessels. But, without going into the details of measures, the whole animus of the Government at Washington must be changed.

The bid was made and the contract let, the distance thereby being increased 900 miles between St. Louis and San Francisco. One huntween St. Louis and San Francisco. One hundred thousand men and women have beaten a plain track across the plains, but that route must give way to the desert route, with this Democratic Administration. [Applause.] I offered a bill revoking the Postmaster General's doubtful and disputed questions of the right of visitation, it is now evident that the repulse of was a member from Missouri, and slept. I all overtures from foreign Powers, looking to tacked it on to the Post Office appropriation bill, amicable and well-guarded conventions upon this and three members from Missouri voted against subject, is attributable to a secret spirit of favor it. Two of the three were from this bordertowards the slave trade, which has long lurked one of them your own Representative. [Voice in the governing dynasty in this country, and "He is not in town." I care not; I would say

cratic party, and it is against that policy for the West to expand; they only desire Slavery extension, and for this policy they oppose the West and her interests. As long as the Democracy lives, you get nothing, unless from God himself, who planted the gold at Pike's Peak, which has been so opportunely discovered to give a new State and a central route to the

Pacific, for the defeat of that party.
You must look elsewhere than the Demo cratic party for aid. Our interests as a State are opposed to the South in this matter. Missouri lies north of the slave States; she is surrounded by the free States, with which her interests are identical. [Hisses and cheers. Cries of go on, and turn him out.] I have not the for the officers of a squadron of observation to know that they best please the powers that be lies on our eastern boundary, Iowa on our Crawford is a politician who belongs to the present day and generation. Mr. Hammond, recalled to public life from a long retirement upon his plantation, belongs to the past.

Nevertheless, if the present and recent conditional conditions are considered by seeing nothing and doing nothing, and quite another thing for them to know that their official superiors will punish remissness and reward activity. The 8th article of the Ashburton treaty would be a dead letter no longer, if the sounder remarks and of little consequence to us, on the south. I have sometimes noticed in the parameters are considered by seeing nothing and doing nothing, and quite another thing for them to know that their official superiors will punish remissness and reward activity. The 8th article of the Ashburton treaty would be a dead letter no longer, if the sounders remarks and of little consequence to us, on the south. I have sometimes noticed in the parameters are considered by seeing nothing and doing nothing, and quite another thing for them to know that their official superiors will punish remissness and reward activity. The 8th article of the Ashburton treaty would be a dead letter no longer, if the pers, that a little beeswax and a few muskrat skins come from there, which is the amount of our interests with Arkansas, [applause,] while our connection with the free States is intimate und extensive.

We must look, in our national concerns, to

the real advantage of the State. I told you I should speak freely of Slavery-it is the question of the day, or you would not see gentlemen from this section vote as they do. As I understand it, the Dred Scott decision is the stand point of the Democracy on Slavery. Calhoun first promulgated the doctrine that the Constitution, per se, carried Slavery into the Terri-You know what his Democracy was in the days of Jackson-then no prominent statesman thought of agreeing with him. [Voice-Calhoun was right."] I think not. He was opposed to the doctrines of Jefferson. If you fuse Jefferson, and take Calhoun, do so boldly, and don't " steal the livery of heaven to serve the devil in." At the request of Monroe, Calhoun, when in his Cabinet, signed a writing assenting to the Missouri Compromise, and admitting its constitutionality. It was an afterthought of Calhoun's, as of the Democratic he Territories. I but ask the professing Democracy to deny the name they disgrace. From the days of Washington to Pierce, the Territo-ries were held to be under the control of Congress. Now, one slaveholder, with his negro, can go into a Territory and frame laws for all

that follow—this is squatter sovereignty.

True, Douglas says the people of a Territory
may decide whether Slavery shall exist there, out he admits the constitutionality of the Dred Scott decision, which carries Slavery into the Territories by the Constitution, thus knocking squatter sovereignty in the head. In this way Douglas rides both sides of the fence. I hold, with the fathers of the country, that the Republican party is right. [Applause and hisses; cries of "Kick him out!"—reply, "There will be more than one to kick out."] I shall be kicked out in good company, with Jefferson and Jackson; the Democracy would kick them out, if they dared. I find no fault with those who differ from me; but how can any one call himself a Jefferson or Jackson Democrat, and same. receive into fellowship Toombs and such men, who always abused Jackson? The sentiments uttered by Jefferson, Jackson, and others, are now called abolition, and for which any one would be read out of the Democratic party. Half of your delegation, half of the Legislature, and of the Democratic delegation from Georgia, were old Whigs; and old Buck, the Federalist, at the head, a worthy leader, [applause and his es] worthy leader of Federal host he led, when charging at the head of the Lecompton column, he didn't need the black cockade t

designate him. I have said that Congress ought to keep the Territories for white men, and not for slaveholders and their negroes; and this is called Abolitionism. Thank God I have lived long enough not to care for names. This struggle going on is the same as that fought under Jackson—the combination of capital against labor; the banks against Old Hickory. A part of the shareholders in the United States Bank wanted the United States deposits, often fifteen millions, to loan; for this they proposed to regulate the exchanges, and make a uniform currency. Slaveholders are another lot of capitalists, who wish to seize the Territories for themselves and negroes, and throw out the poor white men. The plea is plausible-similar to this was required by a Democratic Administra-tion, and voted by a Democratic Congress. The expenditure of the Administration has been one hundred millions a year—more than for free white men, for the good of our State; to build up rich States west of us, to be tributa-

ries to us. Whoever opposes this is against the good of Missouri. [Applause and hisses.]

I will revert to another parallel—the contest between the Gracchi and the patricians. Though the narrative comes from writers of the oligarch, and they are called agrarians—thus giving them a bad name, as I am called an Abolitionist:
"Give a dog a bad name," &c.—the Gracchi
only claimed that the lands conquered by the Roman armies should be equally divided, and mot given to the patricians alone, and this is the question now: Shall the Territories be divided by homestead bill and pre-emption among the people, or held only by slaves and slave-owners? The oligarchs call themselves Democratic, and strive to overthrow the Democratic measures of old which have been universally held, even to the time of Calhoun, and till he himself changed. Calhoun, becoming insane on the disunion measure, and failing of his aims, sought to curry favor with the oligarch. This oligarch is strongly opposed to the interests of the West; the whole forms a pleasant and agreeable volume."—Prespection.

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"Will no doubt attract the attention of many of the friends and admirers of the late Dudley A. Tyng the hope the author will be rewarded for his labor to release the author will be rewarded for his labor to release the author will be rewarded for his labor to release the author will be rewarded for his labor to release the author will be rewarded for his labor to release the constitution of many of the remarked for his labor to release the author will be rewarded for his labor to release the constitution of many of the varieties. "We cannot but admire this beautiful tribute to the Christian excellence of the departed Tyng, and transit has a specific and the properties."

"We cannot but admire this beautiful tribute to the Christian excellence of the departed Tyng, and transit has a specific and admirers of the cross." We cannot but admire this beautiful memorial, pervaded by an excellent and evangelical spirit "—American Presbyterian."

"Will no doubt attract the attention of many of the varieties of the late o not given to the patricians alone, and this is the strongly opposed to the interests of the West; but there is no doubt of Missouri throwing off the incubus of Slavery. | Applause and hisses,

threatens to make and unmake parties in the country. It is a question which grows stronger every day, and I believe the results of it will be the building up and tearing down of party platforms."

In the debate in the Senate, February 16, Mr. Brown of Virginia and Mr. Brown of Virginia and Mr. Brown of Wirginia and Mr. Brown of Mississippi both maintained that humanity required that the sentiment approached unanimity in United States as slaves.

Mr. Mason said:

"If humanity had base consulted, or, rather, if humanity had base consulted on the conversation which gentlems, who was a conversation with a gentlems, who was a conversation with a gentlems, who was a subject to he may how how as a conversation with a gentlems, who was a subject to he made, the was but a day or two since I had beeier the result.

In the debate in the Senate, February 16, Mr. Brown of Mississippi to the maintained that humanity required that sentiment he found in the Culf States.

The sentence of which was but a day or two since I had business strongers at soulists on which of one cereiving the save reads on, which of fer remide the time the fair young and hisses.] You have taken the fair young for freading flowers. Congress refuse to give anything to Savannah received large Congress refuse to give anything to Savannah received large Congress refuse to give anything to savannah received large Congress refuse to give anything to savannah received large Congress refuse to give anything to savannah received have the fair

trade; that money was subscribed for the business; and that it would be extremely difficult, in that part of the country, to get a grand jury to find an indictment, or to get a conviction from a petit jury; that he was amused at the sentiment generally pervading that part of the country which was doubtened in the breast of the judge.

It is this well-understood control of the locality; and that we had no conception of it here. It think that anybody who has read of the movement led by Mr. Yancey of Alabama, and other tended by Mr. Yancey of Alabama, and other to this conclusion: that there is a party, mainly in the Golf States, extending through a portion of the Southern States, in favor of reopening the slave trade; and these doctrines have been avowed during the present session of Congress, by gentlemen representing that section of the United States, the transfer of slaves a part of the United States, the transfer of slaves a part of the United States, the transfer of slaves a part of the United States, the transfer of slaves a part of the United States, the transfer of slaves from it to the slave brown he form it to the slave brown he farmed that the law is. It is quite as true that the law is that it is plemocrate they dare not repudiate him. [Applemocrate they dare not r might not agree with him, yet every Southern gentleman would treat him as a gentleman, and hear him respectfully—others had got to."

The storm quieted.]

I have striven to show due respect and cour cry for the 150-pound man.

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